1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

INSPIRATION OF A TAU'A

The inspiration of such a priest by his god took the form of violent possession. So far as I have been able to find out, no artificial means were employed in inducing the physical state. Although, like the other old men, the inspirational priest consumed much *kava*, it does not seem to have been the object of inducing possession. When the priest was in such a state of possession, it was thought that the spirit which was animating him and speaking through his mouth was that of the god. According to Garcia (14, p. 46) when an inspirational priest desired to be possessed he would usually sleep at night in a sacred place, laying his head on the trunk of a coconut tree near the place consecrated to the god. Suddenly he would cry out that he heard the god coming and then he would make a noise, sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always peculiar, seemingly a trick of ventriloquism, with which practice these priests were acquainted. Stewart says (26, p. 246) that

> . . . in their fits of inspiration they become convulsed, glare fiercely with their eyes, and put their hands into a violent quiver, running about prophesying death to their enemies, in a squeaking voice, and at times demanding human victims for the god by whom they were possessed.

In the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) the possession and activity of *tau'a* at such times are described as follows:

> When a god entered into the body of a *tau'a* (*etua hooka*) and took possession of him, the *tau'a* became depressed and his body became convulsed. If the god did not leave him soon, he took in his hand a stick of iron-wood (*hoto*) and set about traveling around the country like a man transported by the god or demon. The domestics of the priests (*moa*) and the *tauoha* (dancers) accompanied him in his evolutions. The *tauoha* danced in a grotesque manner about him. Arrived at a valley, he went to rest upon the sacred place (*me'ae*) and passed the night there to incorporate in himself the god of this place. He behaved thus in all the valleys through which they passed. During all the time of his evolutions or possession, he took nothing at all for nourishment but the water of coconut. It was not permitted to maltreat him, nor any of his followers, because of the god who resided in him; but the *moa* and the *tauoha* must watch that no one gave him the water of coconut with *eka* (amomum) in it, lest the god abandon him. Should he drink this potion he would have ceased to be a *tau'a* and his virtue would have passed to him who had given him this drink.
>
> During his evolutions, all work was suspended. It was not even permitted to light a fire. Everybody must stay at home and shave his head. It was forbidden to carry *eka*, to rub oneself with it, or to anoint one's self with oil, under pain of being put to death by the god. The *tau'a* tried to kill with his staff (*hoto*) any whom he saw smearing themselves with the yellow *eka*. Arrived at the valley next his own, he would throw his staff into the sea and this stick would arrive before him upon the beach of his own district. [In the story of Fatu-a-nono, a *tau'a* is saved from drowning by her staff, which bears her to shore from a swamped canoe.]
>
> Having returned to his district, he went to the sacred place. The *moa* and the *tauoha* built him a house with green coconut leaves. In a moment of convulsions he cried: *"Ena tu u taika i N—"* (There are my sacrifices at N—), stating the num-

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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islands and the Marquesas; the transmission of a melody from one group of islands to another, which is of course occurring continually nowadays; and lastly, the intricate difficulty of discovering ultimate origins of some cultural elements even within Polynesia itself.

The song was performed on Uahuka in the following manner:

> Two lines of men faced each other, each man resting in a semi-squatting position on the left knee, with his right elbow on his right knee, and his chin resting on his right hand. A line of girls sat in the space between the two lines of men, sang also and accompanied the singing with slow graceful movements of the hands and upper body, the motions being always in unison, and illustrating in vague pantomime the words of the song. One of the men led off always with the first line and refrain, after which the whole group joined in. The very simple harmonization which is illustrated in melodic figure 1 is intentional and more or less fixed. The two parts were repeated as written a number of times, separately and together, by the man and the woman who assisted in writing down the strains. The informants stated, further, that when there was a large group the women sang three different parts but the men only the one. The singing was slow and quiet, the whole effect being one of subdued meditation.

The first occasion of my hearing the *ru'u*—by a group of young friends who, one moonlight night, gathered before our house in Hane—was a most affecting and memorable one.

NANI (RARI)

Most *nani* were composed in honor of a young woman, the words having indirect reference to her. But the song Nani o Kae (melodic figure 2) concerns itself with a legendary subject. The performance of this *nani* was witnessed at Atuona on the island of Hivaoa. The women sat facing the observers, accompanying the song with motions of the upper body and arms. The men were seated in a line at right angles to the several lines of women. This type of song used to be intoned by the group standing. There was no accompaniment for the *nani*, either of clapping or with drums. One woman, referred to as the *kahua*, sang the first line alone, whereupon all joined in. The men's and women's voices appeared to be in unison for the most part, but with occasional simple harmonization. The only place where the harmonization (if it may be so called) was particularly noted, was on the sustained final syllable of both verse and refrain. Here all, both men and women, commenced the syllable in unison, but on the second beat some of the men raised their voices one tone, producing a dissonance which was evidently agreeable to their ears, since the same thing was repeated each time. This furnishes an interesting contrast with the *ru'u* heard on Uahuka, in which the men's voices were dropped and held a tone below the tonic at the end of the first verse.

It will be noticed by students acquainted with the dialects of Polynesia that many Tahitian words occur in the text of this song, intermingled with

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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X533 the Marquesan. This must not be taken as an indication that this *nani* is 191 not a genuinely Marquesan chant. Practically all Marquesans today know how to speak Tahitian, and it is their habit in singing these recreational songs to insert Tahitian words in places where they produce a more graceful effect than the harder and more staccato Marquesan equivalents. It is only in their singing that the natives do this; in conversation among themselves they prefer their own language.

X533 The Nani o Kae may be accepted as a genuine ancient Marquesan song since the poetry is based on themes from one of the old legends of Hivaoa, 773 the story of Kae. Hina, the chiefess of Puamau valley, the ancient name of which was Vai Noi, summoned her brother-in-law, who was a great whale, to take Kae to Taaoa. Kae was instructed to kick a certain rocky islet as he passed. This act was in some mysterious way to cause the whale to turn about so that its tail instead of its head would come upon the beach at Taaoa. Kae failed to kick the islet; and, in consequence, the whale came up on the beach head-first, whereupon the people of the valley attacked and killed it.

TAPE'A

X533 The *tape'a* was a companion piece of the *nani*. Three or four *nani* would be sung, and then the *tape'a*, after which the singers would rest. Only the women actually sang the words, the men accompanying them with body and arm motions as in the *nani*, but singing louder and with more spirit. While the women sang, the men accompanied, their part being referred to as *haakoakoa*, which may be translated as "warming up." In rhythm with the singing, the group of men sometimes ejaculated forcibly, "Ugh! Ugh! Ugh! Ugh!" accompanying these expulsions of breath with vigorous motions of the arms up and down like those made in hauling on a rope; at other times, with tremendous vigor, they ejaculated "Ugh-huh-ugh! Ugh-huh-ugh!" twice, swinging the upper body first to one side, then to the other; then, throwing the right arm forward from the shoulder and striking it at the elbow, they ejaculated with great force "Mahu-mahu," a word which has an erotic meaning. Done by only a small group of about eight men, this male accompaniment was remarkably powerful and rousing. It needs little imagination to conceive the dynamic power of such a performance by a large group of virile natives. (See melodic figure 3.)

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured. 648

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood. [191]

No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value. 648 237 301 439 [313]

I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him, 648

/2 cont./

personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper. 121

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their native tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood. 122 123 191

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they become a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole population. [609] [522]

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions. 122

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the 124 [521]